## THE PRESIDENCY.

of Ex-Minister Motley Before the

Parker Fraternity of Boston. othrop Motley, of Boston, until a short ti John Lothrop Butter, to Austria, accepted of invitation a few months ago to deliver an address a public affairs before the Parker Fraternity of Boston, and his engagement was fulfilled last even-ing in the presence of a large, appreciative and somewhat enthusiastic audience. Mr. Motley, it will entative of the American government to Austria resent time he has been spending his leisure his in comparative quiet at his home, on Park service for upwards of six years, this has been ne first political address of his life, and in this maiden effort he has treated with remarkable ability and eloquence the "four questions for the people at the Presidential election," and his reasons for the elec-tion of Grant and Colfax will undoubtedly be met by the popular approval of the majority of those who exercise their right of suffrage in behalf of the nomi-

nees of the republican party.

Mr. Motley, in beginning his address, claimed that it was certainly the duty of every good citizen to exnine for himself the questions at issue, when a conflict like this is shaking half a continent and is to be decided between the rising and setting of the sun on a day rapidly approaching. And it seemed equally his duty, after having thoroughly satisfied himself upon the merits of the great debate, to do what in him lies for the furtherance of that which he firmly believes the right. There had been important elections in this country during the brief three quarters of a century which comprehended the whole of our national life—that turbulant, full-throbbing, exultant national life, the like of which the world never knew before and which had something appalof our national life—that turbulant, full-throbbing, excitant national life, the like of which the world never knew before and which had something appaining in his very strength. If, he added, so brief a span has sufficed to place America in the followed rank of the great nations of history, what is san to be in the fulness of her power, when centuries, which are to a nation what years are to the individual, shall have brought her to maturity? On us to whom he our generation is committed the representation of all this stupendous vitality during the little hour allotted for the playing of our parts upon this carth, how deep is the responsibility that in our day at least the republic receive he detriment! He then asserted that he replaced in the difference of opinion on many important topics, but there were nevertheless great topics on which it was difficult to comprehend a difference.

ciciced in the difference of opinion on many important topics on which it was difficult to comprehend a difference.

He could never, he added, place himself on the same potential view, morai or political, with those who thought negro shavery other than a misfortune and a sin. It had always seemed to him, in the words of our great magistrate and martyr, that if slavery be not wrong, nothing is wrong. It was also very hard for him to understand how any american can wish to degrade this majestic Union, this government of the people by the people, this political scheme of man acting directly upon man, of law dealing directly with responsible creatures, into something canied a confidence; into a league of corporations; into a system which proved fatal to the only great republic which has preceded our own in modern thmes—that of the United Netherlands; a system which for a time seemed to strike the American people, emerging victorious from its straggle with the British government, with paralysis, out of winten our fathers in '89 rescued us by the glorious national constitution; the system which perferson pavis and his followers had the madness to think stronger than the American Union, because the spirit of loggo slavery had breathed into it the breath of immortal life. Let this is really the question still at issue. Some of us thought it settled by the great four years' agony. But when we thought the subtle and dangerous theory forever destroyed, behalf it colling tisself, wounded but not killed, and rearing as threatening and venomous head, prepared for a had and teart spring. Let us deal with it once for all. Let the heed of popular condemnation be set on it, now and forever. We are a nation. We are not a consideracy. This government, which protects and which controls the humblest as well as the most power man among us, the sear of whose august empire is at Washington, deals with every individual of us directly within its carefully limited spikere. It makes supreme laws which no man dares defy, and there is nothin ang not very grateful to his American ould comprehend it only in its national He could swear allegiance, sacred feni-at Union of which he had the honer to cause society, perhaps, lacking the modern and invaluable invention of popular representation, besides all the other physical discoveres and improvements, and need of disinfregation before civilization could organize their locally and in detached groupings. He could understand the cry aratims centralization in such a country, as France, where the anatomal territory is less than the area of the single State of Texas, and where the population, energetic, inventive, indoctions, thrifty, is nearly as ammerous as that of our whole Union; where there is no system of representation as we understand it, where public meanings for political discussion, such as we are holding now, are a crime; where a miniary government, supported by twelve hundred thousand of as courageous, perfectly disciplined and experienced molding as every existed in the world, holds all the legislative, executive, judicial, financial, administrative functions of the nation in the hollow of its hand and where the press and public speech are under iron control.

the fluctions of the nation in the hollow of as hand and where the press and public speech are under from control.

But the cry should point to the danger. In the United States, with universal suffrage, with boundless liberty of the press and of public meetings, with a Congress elected every two years and a President every four, with a sanding army before the rebeiging only equal in number to the army of Hesse-Cassel—thirteen thousand of them, officers, privates, musicians, bioneers and all—and not four times that number now, with a dozen stump speakers in every school district, with a newspaper and a millita general in every village, with a domain of 3,000,000 of square miles—as large as all Europe—capable of supporting the whole sotual population of this globe, if we should be packed as closely as the Beigians at this moment, and now sparsely hubabited by less than 40,000,000, all wide awake to their rights, whether municipal, state or natiopal, and ready to stand up for them to the crack of doom; he could not feel that our liberties were in much danger from the national republi-

tly the opposite direction. There must be fear sintegration where the surface is so broad, the dation relatively so scanty, and the enginery of sign and concentration, except in times of iming catastrophe like those from which we are givery was the most potent of discovery was the most potent of discovery was the most potent of discovery was the most potent of discovery. consolidated militar it had always seeme exactly the opposit of disintegration wi of disintegration where the surface is so broad, the population relatively so scanty, and the enginery of repression and concentration, except in times of impending catastrophe like those from which we are emerging, so sleuder. We had known all along that slavery was the most potent of dissolvents in all political organisms. It could not but act the same part in our polity, and the great mass of the people North, South, East and West had for generations long been responsible for the evil and for its continuance. Many years the half-ul polson had been working, mail it throughout a great section of the country it had eaten out that respect for nationality which is the most noble and vital part of any organized form of associated humanity, and the leading characteristic of the present epoch in the world's history. And at last the outbreak came. The slave power, the most distinctly marked oligarchy ever known to mankind, planted fiself squarely across the track of the great democratic principle to which this Union owes the breath of life. State sovereignty, from a harmiess and bombastic pirase, seemed to become for a time a most formidable fact; for it was under the form of State sovereignty that the oligarchical, anti-republican principle of slavery disquised itself for the struggle so long impending. The attempt to destroy the midd and beneficent Union in order to extend and perpetuate human slavery, was by one of the most terrible mockeries ever conceived of declarer to be an uprising for liberty against tyranny. The spirit of liberty was never so strangely travestice before as when it was made to inspire and to consecrate that confederacy, built according to those awful words which will forever remain historical, upon the corner stone which the builders rejected, the corner stone which the builders repeated by the state of the sta

tyrannical in its tendencies, let us choose a secter one.

And now let us look at the pretensions and principles of the two parties and their candidates, in favor of one or the other of whom our votes are to be cast so soon. What are the issues of this Presidential election?

We are called on to decide—

1. Whether the will of the American people, constitutionally expressed, is the law of the land?

2. Whether, in the United States, all mon are endowed with equal rights?

3. Whether it is just and reasonable to pay our debts or to repudiate them?

4. Whether economy and constitutional purity of administration will, on the whole, be best secured by the election of Mr. Soymour or of General Grant?

by the election of Mr. Seymour or of General Grant?

Having propounded the foregoing questions, Mr. Modey proceeded to answer them as follows:—

1 and 2. Now we know that there stand on the statute book certain acts, familiarly called the reconstruction laws. For anything m my knowledge, they are as binding laws, in as full force over the good people of the country, from the President down to the humblest day laborer, as any other laws on the statute book, whether passed at the beginning of last year or at the end of last century. We are all of us more or less familiar with the genesis of those statutes, and know that they have been the cause of fierce dispute between the executive and legislative branches of the general government, and that they were enacted by extraordinary majorities of both houses over the President's veto. But at any rate they are the law of the land by the will of a majority of the American people. I know no way of most numerous branch of the Scate Legislature. But the denouncers of the Reconstruction laws—the stern defenders of the Constitution—seem to have forgotten one little fact, a mere trific, which has maturally slipped their memory—namely, that there is not to be a support of the proper of the prop

something much resembling slavery by means of vagrant laws and the denial to freedmen of civil rights and the repudation of the national debt by the assistance of those by whose rebolion it has been created. Not to do this would be puerrile lenity, dereliction of duty to the generations yet unborn, as well as a criminal injustice towards the freedmen, for which we should deserve signal purisament. To listen, on the other hand, to an ignoble desire of vengeance upon those who have fought so bravely in defence of a cause so bad, would be a disgrace to the American name. We shall be all Americans again at some future day, and the criticals of the lately rebellious states will, in the next generation portupas, be inspired by the same hanghly but legitimate pride of masionality which now swells the breasts of those who dwell in the free and loyal States, and the same energy which has done its best to destroy may help to preserve the life of the republic. I, for one, would not relinquish the gitrous hope of a free, united and fraternal population over the whole surface of these United States for the most golden visions of any separate empire. But even if the reconstruction laws are constitutional, are they expedients We are told that the secenting states are treated with creately; that in time of protound search that a party now in power is arraigned for its bareer of unparalled oppression and tyranny! Will you search desolation to more than conceivable extent. Recall the oppression which marked the career of the British East India Company in the East; the tyranny and extortion by which vast populations were goaded almost daily into rebellion against their foreign conquerors, and the frightful proscription and robberies when those rebellions were suppressed; think of whole kingdoms of great extent, ancient civilization, enormous wealth, literally put up at public auction and knocked down for a song to a few needy adventuers, a proscription so girantic were "whiching," although this sho has a richally described by the grant of the control of the c man with that benearch work anotath or conjuged in partial suffrage from an a priori noist of view. The right to cast a yote should chail upon its possessor the corresponding duty of understanding the subject voted upon, and an educational suffrage for a whole population, winatever its colors, would perhaps be the most reasonable condition. But I doubt whether in present circumstances any better way of protecting the freedunan in his civil rights can be found than by giving him the vote. The end justifies the means. To refuse the franchise to a man not because he is ignorant, but because to a man not because he is ignorant, but because to a man not because he is lignorant, but because to a man not because he is higherent to him because he is not six feet high. As to what is called negro supremacy I confess this to be a subject beyond my comprehension. I suspect that, the consummate politicians of the secoling States will find even less difficulty in manipulating the negro vote of the South than they did for thirty years or more in confroiling the majority of white voters of the North. Negro supremacy may be a good phrase to conjure with in these regions, but doubt whether the white citizens of the siave State and would not oppress them if they had the power to do so; that busy he sounds the siave State and would not oppress them if they had the power to do so; that itsy have grown up among the white, who have been accustomed to look upon them with kindness. So much the better. Now, that kindness to the negro is to be manifested in some better ways than by holding him in perpetual slavery, by selling his wife and children before his cyes, by tracking his finglitive steps with bloodhounds, by refusing his testimony in course of justice, by depriving him of every right of a luman ereastant it is perfectly possible theore may erre long be established. But I donot whether any one seriously expects that the agerowal part of this continent; or that the Cancasian integral to the reconstruction laws, we learn of paster,

if the army will not be compelled? I if the army will not be compelled? Can com sion mean anything but force, sure to be me a much greater force? Is that anything but war again, and a blocking saw thing but and immunities of citizens in Alabama, or Texes, or any other State, North or South, the constitution of the United States is a pompous falsehood. The people intend it to be a reality. We are told every day we are unjust to the secoling States because we exact guarantees, when they have given all guarantees that could be reasonably expected. They have abelished shavery, they have repeated the ordinance of secession. What would we have more? Abolished shavery, they have repeated the ordinance of secession. What would we have more? Abolished shavery, they proclamation of Lincoln registered the abolition, and the surrender of the rebel armies contirmed it. To submit to the abolition of slavery now is like submitting to the procession of the equinoxes, or solemnly adhering to the law of gravitation. As for annualing the ordinances of secession, we thought them already pronounced null by a tribunal which is even higher than the Suprema Gourt—by that droad arbitrament to which kings and commonwealths must make their last appeal. A formal repeat of those statutes, since the war annualled them, seems superfluous enough.

3. There is another great question to be decided in this election:

Shall the United States pay or repudiate their debis?

I confess myself, at the outset, almost hopelessly embarcussed in approaching this question. Shall the United States pay or repudiate their debis?

I confess myself, at the outset, almost hopelessly embarcassed in approaching this question. It is an await thing that this should be a question at all. I should doubt whether any honest man who has ever really reflected on its dread portent, could patter one moment with the vile thing, repudiation. For the thing is ever there, however we may shirk the pirase. There are axioms, one would think, in morals as in mathematics. It is geometrically certain, for example, that a straight line is the shortest between two points, although a long demonstration may be attempted in favor of a crooked one. And just so certainly is the straight line not only the shortest, but the only one between debt and payment, if we would avoid the crooked path of national bank-ruptcy and national dishoner. Now we are instructed from the democratic platform of July 7 that "the credit of the government and the currency must be made good." A wholesome sentiment which there are few to dispute. And by way of arriving at this blessed result we are advised that "where the obligations of the government do not expressly state upon their face, or the law unner which dies, and I now held in my hand a document which secomplishes the desired object. I togs to hand to my friend Mr. Traddles my to U for £41 08, 113-d., and I am huply to recover my moral dignity and to know that I can once more waik erect before my ferber of this remarkable man. "not only that this was quite the same to Mr. Micawber as paying the money, but that Traddles himself hardy knew the difference until ne had time to think about it." To behold a great, prosperous, powerful government ike the American Union evading Its obligations and exchenging one promise to pay for another promise to pay, and expecting thus to recover its moral diguity and to walk erect among other governments; to hear the national creditor bemoaning himself as the metancholy Handler—Eike the chancieun, promise crammed, promise crammed—procupents; to hear the national creditor bemoaning himself as the metancholy Handler—Eike the chancieun, promise crammed, promise crammed—procupents; to hear the national creditor bemoaning himself as the metancholy Handler—Eike the chancieun, promise crammed, promise crammed—produce crammed—you cannot stur level in democracy. But the party to which we are opposed maintain that if the word coin is not nominated in the bond or in the law issuing the bonds they shall be naid to the lawful money of the United States. I lewe to the Supreme Court the responsibility of deciding whether Congress had the right to make anything but gold and silver a legal tender for any debts. I am not a constitutional lawyer or judge, but this I do know that the only justification of that proceeding, in the forum of concelence, was necessity, and that government has no moral right whatever, and never could have, to pay its own the last in the right beginner to make the maintain credit good. At the online of the paying of the paying of the paying the payin

they know, or are bound to know, that ever try or high official of the treasury; every di-by authority, of the bonds; every Congress r committeemen contents and privately, declared that when these bonds were paid in specie or its equivalent. If the government now turns round and thrusts irredeemable paper in the creditor's face instead of specie, tell me, if you can, by what mild expression the transaction can be described. We know how we deal with individuals who obtain money on faiso protences. I feel the most profound respect for the American people; I have enter faith in their public virtue—the only possible foundation of republican governments—and I know that they will not be guilty of this fraud. I pass over as quite irrelevant the pretext for repudiation now and then advanced, that the holders of these bonds sometimes obtained tacen at low prices; that they took advantage of the distress of government and are now ciamorous for a payment from which they will derive large prout. Honds of our government, or of any government or corporation, are worth exactly what they will bring in the markers of the world. If they are depressed it is from doubt of ability or good faith; if they are high it is because of general conditions in makes the best bargains. But I am not aware that a government, any more than an individual, has the right to inquire at what price a bond fish of his orelitor. Nor is it easy to alitude seriously to that other appeal sometimes addressed to the lower instincts of mankind by those who show their respect for the American people by insulting them. The phantom of a bloated, bondholding aristocracy, which is grinding the benes and drinking the blood of the hardworking people is coved. Now, if the bondholders be ever so bloated and ever so aristocratic, it is difficult to see how the American people is to honor itself by plundering or defrauding them. This may be a good argument to address to burglars, but the American people will never defraud the bondholder of his own simply because he is bloated. As a matter of fact we know that hundreds of millions of these bonds are heid by trust companies of millions of these bonds are heid by trus courts, who will have something to say concerning the violation of contracts. But it government takes off a tenth or a fifth of what it promises to pay me I have no redress but to get rid of its bonds at the best price I can get; for assuredly if government has the right to take off ten per cent it has the right to take off one hundred per cent, and I may one day whistle for ether interest or principal. To say that because government imposes a general tax upon property or income, levied proportionately upon all the citizens, it has the right to deduct a portion or the whole of a sum which it has bound itself annually to pay, seems to me an almost hopeless confusion of ideas against which human reason must struggle in vain. I do not believe that the American people mean to adopt any form of repudiation. I use the word repudiation purposely and as often as I can. If we must to have the thing let us get familiar with the phrase. Repudiation means refusal to pay—whether a part or the whole of our just debts—and it means nothing else in its pecuniary application. An individual cannot repudiate if he lives under a government of law. But a nation may take a vile advantage of its strength. There is but one excuse for the individual repudiator—inability, insolvency—and then he must give up his all to his creditors. And there is that excuse only for national repudiation. Is the great American republic prepared to go into bankruptey and divide its little all honestly among its creditors. Nay more, are we ready to precipitate the catastrophe by declaring our insolvency twelve or affect per serious per serious the richest commonwealth in the world—a proposition easy of proof, into the details of which it is not necessary on this occasion to enter. It is the richest commonwealth in the world—a proposition sessy of proof, into the details of which it is not repediate his monthly milk bill or grocery book, because of inability. How much do we over 72,500,00,000. How may of us are there? I suppose something less than 40,000,000 word would no goal to also our securities at as to be a complete the control in the control of t

ed by the people 1868, to the supp une 30, 18 and the this to show; a reduction, in a little an three years of one-quarter of a great de-diminution of the annual expenses of a diminution of the annual expenses of a large as or over that of the finion, the interest of her debt is out 203,000,000, gold. This leaves her \$333,000,000. And how does sue spend these \$333,000,000? The army and navy take each year in time of peace—the iron-clad peace, which is all Europe ever knows—about \$140,000,000. The estimates for the current year of the United States government for army and navy together are \$52,000,000 in currency, equal to \$40,000,000 in gold, or \$190,000,000 less than those of France. Let me not fatigue your patience with more details. We perceive that France with a less numerous population than our own, and the same amount of debt and annual production, spends in time of peace twice as much as we do; that her army and navy expenses are three and a half times as large as our own; that she has at this moment ready to respond to the first cannon shot in Europe 1,200,000 soldiers, equal to any the world ever knew, one-fifts more than the whole number we disbanded as soon as the armed rebellion was overthrown. Remember, too, that her production seems almost to have reached its limit; that her population is nearly stationary, having searcely doubled in 170 years; that her expenses have been annually increasing with dizzy speed; that her doot is rapidly augmenting, having doubled in the last fifteen years, and then romember that our population doubles in little more than twenty years, our annual production every dozen years, our accumulated capital every eight years, while our doot has been decreased twenty-live per cent in three and a quarter years—and then behold France borrowing money with perfect case at four and a half per cent while we are talking of reputation, bood taxing and national bankruptey, why, it was but yesterday that we are talking of reputiation, bood taxing and national bankruptey.